

## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0433  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
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AMEMBASSY SEOUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 4745

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OREP  
SUBJECT: CODEL WOLFF

1. SUMMARY: CODEL WOLFF COMPLETED ACTIVE 36-HOUR VISIT TO JAKARTA APRIL 14. VISIT INCLUDED MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO, GENERAL PANGGABEAN AS ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AND MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND FULL-SCALE BRIEFING AND DISCUSSION WITH INDONESIAN DEFENSE OFFICIALS. HEAVY EMPHASIS WAS ON TIMOR, HUMAN RIGHTS AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE. TWO MEMBERS DELEGATION MADE SEPARATE VISITS TO TIMOR. END SUMMARY.

2. CODEL WOLFF, CONSISTING OF CHAIRMAN WOLFF, CONGRESSWOMAN MEYNER AND CONGRESSMEN EVANS AND BIAGGI, SPENT FROM AFTERNOON APRIL 12 TO MORNING APRIL 14 IN VISIT TO JAKARTA. CONGRESSMAN GOODLING MADE VIST TO TIMOR APRIL 10-11 WHICH BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY. LIKEWISE EMBASSY WILL REPORT LATER ON VISIT BY MRS. MEYNER AND STAFF MEMBER JOHN SALZBERG TO TIMOR APRIL 15-16.

3. IN MEETING WITH CODEL APRIL 13, PRESIDENT SUHARTO, OBVIOUSLY ANTICIPATING INTERESTS OF DELEGATION, SPOKE AT LENGTH ON INDONESIAN DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES, IMPORTANCE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS AND TIMOR.

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4. HE STRESSED FACT THAT ELECTIONS CURRENTLY BEING HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES FOR MEMBERSHIP IN INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT

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HE EXPLAINED PROCESS BY WHICH THIS GROUP, PLUS APPOINTED MEMBERS, WILL FORM PEOPLES' CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY FOR DETERMINATION OF NATIONAL POLICY AND LATER ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRRESIDENT.

5. PROBABLY REFLECTING DISPLEASURE WITH RECENT PRESS ARTICLES ON INDONESIA, PRESIDENT STRESSED OBJECTIVES OF INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT AS NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, PEACE AND ORDER AND EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME. HE DESCRIBED AT SOME LENGTH EFFORTS BY GOVERNMENT THROUGH SUBSIDIES TO IMPROVE LOT OF 85PCT OF POPULATION WHO LIVE IN RURAL AREAS.

6. ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WITHOUT DIRECT REFERENCE TO CURRENT DETAINEES, HE STRESSED INDONESIAN COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM QUALIFYING IT BY EQUAL EMPHASIS ON RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENRY. HE CONCLUDED HIS EXPOSITION BY EXPLAINING BRIEFLY HISTORY OF TIMOR PROBLEM, INCLUDING CONFLICT AMONG VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN PORTUGUESE TIMOR, INDONESIAN EFFORTS TO WORK OUT AGREEMENT WITH PORTUGAL, PROBLEM OF REFUGEES, AND REQUEST FROM ELEMENTS IN TIMOR FOR INDONESIAN INTERVENTION.

7. CHAIRMAN WOLFF EXPRESSED APPRECIATION TO PRESIDENT FOR HIS EXPOSITION, AND INDICATED COMMITTEE'S AWARENESS OF IMPORTANCE OF INDONESIAN-U.S. RELATIONS. HE EXPLAINED THAT RECENT STATEMENTS TO THE CONGRESS ON TIMOR SITUATION REQUIRED COMMITTEE TO SEEK INFORMATION ON THIS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AND HE WELCOMED COOPERATION OF INDONESIAN

OFFICIALS IN COMMITTEE'S EFFORTS. HE STATED U.S. DID NOT WISH TO TELL OTHERS HOW TO CONDUCT THEIR AFFAIRS BUT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE CONGRESS WOULD CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE TO AMERICANS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORLDWIDE.

8. MEETING WITH PRESIDENT WAS FOLLOWED BY PROTOCOL CALLS ON GENERAL PANGGABEAN, FIRST AS ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AND THEN AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE. THESE WERE PRELUDES TO FULLSCALE BRIEFING ATTENDED BY CONFIDENTIAL

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GENERAL PANGGABEAN, GENERAL SURONO, GENERAL HASNAN HABIB, GENERAL MURDANI, AND MOST OTHER SENIOR DEPARTMENT HEADS OF DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT. GENERAL HASNAN HABIB EXPLAINED HOW U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE FITTED IN TO INDONESIA DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS. EMPHASIS WAS ON SUBSTANTIAL REQUIREMENTS TO MEET LONG-RANGE DEFENSE STRATEGY. THESE WERE DESCRIBED AS SAFEGUARDING, CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIA, DEVELOPING NATIONAL STRENGTH TO MEET ALL FORMS OF THREATS, PROMOTING REGIONAL COOPERATION, PEACE AND STABILITY AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THROUGH PEACE KEEPING. GENERAL HASNAN HABIB STRESSED INADEQUACY OF CURRENT INDONESIAN RESOURCES FOR DEFENSE AND COSTED OUT FULL LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AT \$1.5 BILLION. HE EMPHASIZED RELATIVELY MODEST PERCENT (2.4) OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS WHICH WENT FOR MILITARY PURCHASES. PRESENTATION DID NOT REQUEST ADDITIONAL AID BUT SOUGHT TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF EVEN RELATIVELY MODEST INPUT FROM MAP AND FMS.

9. GENERAL BENNY MURDANI, DIRECTOR OF ARMY INTELLIGENCE, WENT THROUGH EXTENSIVE EXPLANATION OF TIMOR, EXPANDING ON BASIC OUTLINES OF PRESIDENT'S EARLIER PRESENTATION. HE DID NOT DENY THAT INDONESIAN

FORCES WERE INVOLVED IN TIMOR. HE ACKNOWLEDGED COMMITTEE'S INTEREST IN

USE OF U.S. EQUIPMENT BY SAYING SIMPLY "INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES ARE  
EQUIPPED 90PCT WITH U.S. EQUIPMENT."

10. IN SUBSEQUENT QUESTION PERIOD GENERAL MURDANI ASSERTED THAT SINCE  
EAST TIMOR WAS NOT CLEARLY INDONESIAN TERRITORY, QUESTION OF  
FURTHER UN INQUIRIES WAS IRRELEVANT. INDONESIA PREPARED WELCOME VISITORS

AS IT WAS DOING WITH CODEL. AMNESTY FOR FRETELIN GUERRILLAS HAD  
BEEN DECLARED IN AUGUST 1976 AND WAS STILL IN EFFECT.

11. ON DETAINEES QUESTION, GENERAL MURDANI GAVE DETAILED FIGURES  
IN LINE WITH THOSE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED BEFORRE. WHEN ASKED BY  
SALZBERG WHETHER THOSE TO BE RELEASED WILL HAVE FREEDOM OF MOVE-  
MENT, MURDANI REPLIED THAT IN INDONESIAN SOCIETY EVERYONE, INCLUDING  
HIM, REQUIRED PASSES TO MOVE FROM ONE PROVINCE TO ANOTHER. THOSE  
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WHO WERE RELEASED WOULD BE AS FREE AS ANY OTHER INDONESIANS.

12. PROGRAM OUTSIDE OFFICIAL MEETINGS INCLUDED DINNER HOSTED  
BY GENERAL PANGGABEAN AS ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AND LUNCHESES GIVEN BY  
EMBASSY OFFICERS WHICH GAVE CODEL OPPORTUNITY TO MEET NON-OFFICIAL  
AND OPPOSITION PERSONALITIES.

13. COMMENT: OFFICIAL MEETINGS WITH CODEL, AND PARTICULARLY HANKAM  
BRIEFING, WERE FRANK AND ONLY OCCASIONALLY SLIGHTLY TENSE. CODEL  
SOUGHT AND, DESPITE RELATIVELY SHORT VISIT, OBTAINED AS CLEAR  
EXPOSITION OF INDONESIAN OFFICIAL POLICY ON SENSITIVE ISSUES AS WE  
HAVE SEEN. WHATEVER CODEL'S IMPRESSIONS OF SUBSTANCE MAY BE, OUR  
FEELING IS THAT THEY WERE GENERALLY IMPRESSED WITH WILLINGNESS OF  
INDONESIANS TO DISCUSS TIMOR AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND WITH GENERAL OPEN-  
NESS OF SOCIETY, EXEMPLIFIED IN LARGE MEASURE BY UNOFFICIAL INDO-  
NESIANS WHO SPOKE TO THEM OFTEN IN A DIFFERENT VEIN AT SOCIAL  
FUNCTIONS AND INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS. INDONESIANS WENT TO EXTRA-  
ORDINARY LENGTHS TO MAKE VISIT SUCCESS. PRESIDENTIAL MEETING RAN  
TO MORE THAN ONE HOUR AND FORMAL HANKAM BRIEFING WAS MOST ELABORATE  
GIVEN TO ANY DELEGATION IN RECENT YEARS.  
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